20c OCTOBER 16, 1950

New Republic

WAR TAXES:
LOOPHOLES FOR THE RICH

By ROBERT WALLACE

POLITICAL SUICIDE IN NEW YORK

By MICKEY LEVINE

PEACE TREATY WITH JAPAN

AN EDITORIAL

HAROLD L. ICKES ON:
HELEN DOUGLAS AND TOBEY

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE OLD, old plea that America's make-believe political parties are really best for the country is made again by Herbert Agar in the leading article of the current *Atlantic Monthly*. Boiled down, the argument is that America is too big to have parties that mean something. Agar points out, correctly, that the two present parties are nebulous coalitions of divergent elements. Then he concludes in effect that this is fine; this is the best of all possible worlds and hurray for the status quo. Parties standing for sharp principles might split the country, and (he implies) we can't trust American voters to keep their heads.

As usual to this school of thought, Agar neglects the alternate danger, the public cynicism arising from make-believe parties as now constituted: people don't bother to vote. Agar probably belongs to a "Get-out-the-vote" club. But how can the nation get roused by a clash where party labels mean little and the record of each individual Congressman must be studied to make sure what you are voting for? In overseas parliamentary elections voters approach 90 percent of those eligible. In the last US midterm election, 1946, only 42 percent bothered to vote for Senators, only 38 percent for Representatives. Probably it will be the same this year.

Will Acheson quit? Rumors that he will leave early in 1951 seem to have considerable authenticity. Foreign chancelleries regard him as the ablest US Secretary in years. Yet the vituperative attack continues. We have criticized Acheson before and will again but this column thinks he has done a first-rate job for all that, and wants the fact on record. Henry Luce deserves a word. He is more important than Hearst or Scripps-Howard because few take them seriously anyway. Articles in Luce publications are often intelligent and even brilliant and the *Time-Life-Fortune* editorial line, though basically conservative, generally seems fixed on principle rather than policy. In these terms the steady attack on Acheson seems inexplicable. When *Life* declared "Acheson is the symbol of appeasement of Communism and . . . of soft-headed, unrealistic thinking . . ." it is outrageous. A statement so far from fact can stem only from Publisher Luce himself. Like the China Lobby, his argument against Acheson seems to be not that he is incompetent, but that he is trying to avert World War III.

Newspapers have been waiting impatiently for Truman to name the Stabilization Administrator so that they could throw the first brick at him. He is Dr. Alan Valentine, Rhodes Scholar, educator, business director and Quaker. He seems like a nice young man (49) for a fate so dreadful. Poor chap! The fact is that it is one thing to let U.S. soldiers be shot in Korea but another to pull in our belts and disrupt business. To curb inflation such as is now developing will require something very much like a controlled economy. It will require a drastic excess profits tax over which some Congressmen are already writhing. You can't just pass a law saying "No more inflation." Over the next few years the test of the will-to-sacrifice and steadfastness of America will come on this issue.

Truman must choose right away between his conservative cronies, Commerce Secretary Sawyer and Treasury Secretary Snyder and the group that knows something sweeping must be done fast about inflation. Sawyer continues to stress "voluntary" controls (like telling a forest fire to go put itself out) while Snyder is currently engaged in a titanic battle with the Federal Reserve Board in an attempt to preserve "cheap" money, which the FRB keeps telling him is fuel for the conflagration. Inflation isn't merely sending up the price of the

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Smith baby's bottle of milk. It is increasing the cost of rearmament enormously: For example, since K-Day we have lost the equivalent of 759 jet fighters in the Air Force alone because of bounding commodity prices.

Gazing up among the new steel I-beams within the White House shell last week we ruminated on the American Mistique. Man lives by symbols, and the White House is one of America's strongest. Everything except the shell and roof of the old magnificent tottering structure is being replaced. When they point out Lincoln's Blue Room in the future, it will be the same spot in terrestrial space but the old room will be gone, however accurate the reproduction. It is enormously expensive to re-build a building while it is still standing. Yet in this case it is worth it. We live by symbols as much as logic.

We never saw anything quite like the press conference at which Stassen unveiled his peace bid to Stalin. About 70 reporters were there. Stassen's sensational hints had created a situation where almost anything he did, short of superseding Acheson, would have been anti-climax. It was a long Statler Hotel room, filled with chairs and mimeograph forms, with suave Stassen agents rubbing the nap of your coat. Then came the announcement. Grouchy correspondents had gone there to be sour and (perhaps unfairly) fulfilled their mission. "A boy sending himself on a man's errand," was one comment.

Notes: Average age of today's Supreme Court is 54; at FDR's "Court-packing" fight, 72. . . . No freshman senator in years has created the stir of racket-hunting Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.); he's talked of as presidential material. . . . Kefauver's exposures end an epoch, an epoch that believed crime syndicate rackets were state-contained. . . . Foreign service officer John Stewart Service has been officially cleared of disloyalty charges — the seventh time; ho-hum. . . . Truman's asking himself whether he can afford to campaign; he's aching to go out but how would it look in war-time?

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Record of Congress

SIR: You are to be highly commended for your very timely special election edition. It is not only very comprehensive, but also presents very clearly the important issues of this Congressional campaign.

With every good wish for your continued success.

CAPTAIN VICTOR HUNT HARDING
Executive Director, Democratic
National Congressional Committee
Washington

SIR: The very excellent supplement to the October 5 *New Republic* moves me to congratulate you upon the best job you have ever done in a field in which you have pioneered. For several years now the *New Republic* supplements have been almost indispensable in spreading knowledge among the people of the actions taken by their representatives, knowledge which in turn is truly indispensable to the proper functioning of democracy. I hope that it will be broadcast throughout the land.

RUSSELL SMITH, Legislative Secretary
National Farmers Union
Washington

SIR: Congratulations on your supplement with the 1950 voting record of Congress! If union readers wonder what happened on the Taft-Hartley vote of 1949, tell them to check their Senators and Congressmen on foreign policy. For once logic has prevailed. Almost without exception those who voted for Taft-Hartley are the same men who voted to weaken every attempt to raise living standards abroad in the fight against Communism. Let's hope your supplement will help Americans to retire from the Senate and House a lot of characters who can't tell the difference between a Communist and an honest union member.

GORDON H. COLE, Editor,
Washington *The Machinist*

SIR: Let me add my congratulations to the many you have undoubtedly received on the special supplement dealing with the record of the second session of the 81st Congress.

In presenting the issues in such clear and understandable form, and in fitting these issues into the framework of our present historical position, you have performed yeoman service on behalf of a democracy. It is magazines such as the *New Republic*, and special supplements such as the current one, which give to the people of the nation the information on which to act at the polls. Without them our blessed democracy would be poor and weak.

HENRY ZON
Director, Public Relations,
CIO Political Action Committee
Washington

SIR: The *New Republic* special supplement should be in the hands of every voter in the United States, for it shows which Senators and Representatives of the 81st Congress have been working with President Truman in his courageous effort to "halt world Communism without a world war" and to "save world freedom without losing our own." Americans who cast votes on November 7—and I hope there will be a record vote for a Congressional election—will decide whether the 82nd Congress is to be one that will work with the President or one that will use obstructionist tactics such as the 80th Congress employed. Study of the *New Republic* special election supplement cannot fail to convince voters that the election of Democrats is essential.

INDIA EDWARDS
Vice Chairman, and Director Women's
Division, Democratic National Committee
Washington

Free Enterprise

SIR: We should be thankful indeed for Harold Ickes' continued outspokenness against attempted grabs of the people's wealth, as for example in the tidelands-oil situation and the Dollar Steamship Line case. Mr. Ickes neglected to point out an additional angle evidently overlooked by the US Circuit Court of Appeals in upholding the Dollar family's claim to ownership of the stock. Suppose that the Line had continued to lose money and was in debt; would Mr. Dollar, as "owner," be liable for this debt? . . .

I think such cases are merely an example of a more widespread tendency on the part of big business to exploit the slogans "Free enterprise: no government ownership or competition with business." with the follow-up, "Or else you'll have Communism," making it good solid religion these days. Let us have genuine free enterprise, by all means, where it is productive and competitive. But this does not mean that businessmen should be handed outright gifts of millions, as in the Dollar case, or billions, as in the case of excess war profits, in the name of free enterprise.

This was exploited to a fantastic degree during the last war, when the government provided the investment capital for the expansion of many industries. . . .

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New Republic

THE CHALLENGE OF A JAPANESE TREATY

ON INSTRUCTIONS from the President, the State Department is now holding informal discussions with other governments looking toward a peace settlement with Japan.

A Japanese peace treaty at this juncture holds forth both a temptation and a challenge to U. S. policy-makers.

The temptation, particularly keen in light of the Korean war and all it seems to imply, is to view the treaty solely as a device for rearming Japan. In this view, the objective is to incorporate Japanese manpower and industrial war potential into the defense plans of the Western powers at the earliest possible moment.

The challenge of a Japanese treaty, on the other hand, lies in the opportunity it affords the United States to demonstrate constructive international leadership in the Far East, where our prestige has been progressively deteriorating. Specifically, we are challenged to find a formula that will make possible a genuinely free society in Japan and at the same time provide an adequate defense against the danger of Communist aggression. The challenge cannot be met merely by submitting to the temptation.

World War II's aftermath has taught us the folly of arming nations which are not wholeheartedly committed to the defense of free institutions. And while General MacArthur continues to insist that Japan "has become an asset upon which the free world may confidently count," most informed observers do not share his optimism. In fact, honest and outspoken Japanese themselves do not share it. A typical example is Dr. Yukio Ozaki, long one of Japan's foremost liberals, and one-time mayor of Tokyo, who stated publicly during a visit to this country last May: "Japan has still to be fundamentally reformed. . . . If you think we are becoming democratic, it's a great mistake."

That Japan has not become genuinely democratized under the Allied occupation is hardly surprising. Political transformations of such magnitude are not likely to happen in five years. They are even less likely to happen within the framework of a military occupation. For no matter how competent your military government may be, the very knowledge that it stands ready to step into both legislative and administrative situations at the drop of a Supreme Commander's hat, makes the development of democratic institutions not merely difficult but impossible.

The Japanese are not a stupid people, and they have never been in any doubt about the real source of power during the past five years. As a Japanese visitor to this country observed recently: "If a public notice in Japan reads: *No Spitting, by Order of GHQ, SCAP,* it is respectfully obeyed. But if the sign reads: *No Spitting, by Order of the Japanese Government,* the people not only spit, they spit on the sign." An extreme example, no doubt, but proving the Japanese recognize the real seat of power in their present government. No one can doubt that the same attitude would prevail under a civilian occupation authority capable of exercising a similar form of control over Japanese affairs.

The treaty-makers thus appear to be faced with a dilemma. We cannot simply hand back her full sovereignty to Japan and, with a nod in the general direction of the world armaments race, tell her, "Go thou and do likewise." The result would be to release all the forces of reaction now simmering under the lid of the Occupation, which would in turn create a Japan much more likely to seek totalitarian than democratic alliances. Some form of Allied control is, therefore, clearly indicated.

On the other hand, any hope for the growth of free institutions in Japan would be smothered by the indefinite continuance of a military occupation, or by setting up a civilian substitute with similar powers. Outside interference in the day-to-day governmental affairs of any people will never produce either the political responsibility or the political techniques essential to a free society.

The solution to this dilemma lies in discovering an effective form of Allied control that will preserve for the Japanese the necessary conditions for freedom of political action, without at the same time destroying their will to act freely. What is needed is a control that protects without smothering.

It is important to guarantee that the present Japanese Constitution shall remain operative. This document has been widely recognized as a sound embodiment of the principles necessary for the development of a free society. It has been presented to a people with a long history of

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subservience to autocratic monarchs and totalitarian bureaucrats, to say nothing of five years of polite kowtowing to the Supreme Commander of a military occupation. Who can believe that a people with such a background, however good their intentions, can be counted upon to uphold such an enlightened, liberal charter as the present Japanese Constitution?

The duty of the treaty-makers, then, becomes clear: It is to devise Allied control machinery which will make certain that, for the period of Japan's apprenticeship in the conduct of free government, the Japanese Constitution remains the supreme law of the land. The precise character of such control machinery must be left to the treaty-makers and their political experts. In form, however, it should be judicial rather than legislative or administrative. Its function could in all probability be limited to review over the decisions of the Japanese Supreme Court. Under such a system of limited supervision, the duty of making and enforcing law would rest entirely with the Japanese. The presence of Allied forces would be required, however, to ensure obedience to the judicial decisions of the Allied authority.

The problem of Japan's defense against external aggression remains. In the immediate post-treaty period this would be solely an Allied responsibility. However, assuming the success of the machinery for guaranteeing the integrity of the Japanese Constitution, there could, in due course, be no objection to a Japanese defense force, on the understanding that it would be permitted to serve solely as a component of other Allied forces in the common defense of northeast Asia. Naturally, the size of this Japanese force must be kept within a safe power ratio to Allied forces in the area.

It will be asked, how long should these various treaty controls remain in force? The answer is, until such time as the free nations of the world are prepared to admit Japan to UN membership. Since it would be most unwise to accept Japan as a member of the UN until she is demonstrably committed to the defense of free institutions, willingness to admit her would constitute an acknowledgment that treaty controls were no longer necessary.

Any realistic plan for maintaining democratic government in Japan is bound to be complex, yet to reject such a plan would betray the cause for which the free world fights today and serve notice on the peoples of Asia that the leadership of the Western democracies has nothing to offer but military alliances and the uncertain career of the mercenary.

If we shrink from the challenge which the Japanese peace treaty holds out to us, and if we should wake up ten years from now to find ourselves again face to face with a totalitarian Japan, it will not be enough for our Secretary of State to say, as he recently said of China: "Nothing that this country did or could have done within the reasonable limits of its capabilities could have changed the result; nothing that was left undone by this country has contributed to it." The noise of things blowing up into World War III may make it a little difficult to hear such a quiet apology.

THIS WEEK

THE UN AND KOREA

LAKE SUCCESS (NR Correspondent)

General Douglas MacArthur now has implicit authority from the United Nations to occupy the whole of Korea. That is the outstanding fact from last week's meeting of the Political Committee of the General Assembly.

Thirteen foreign ministers were present at some of the meetings of the committee, showing how important their countries consider the current session to be. The Committee endorsed by a heavy majority the Korean Resolution sponsored by Great Britain and seven other nations. The United States, although not an official sponsor, also supported it unreservedly.

In addition to giving General MacArthur a green light, the Committee ordered free, democratic elections under the supervision of the United Nations to take place after the pacification of the country. The armed forces were to withdraw at the earliest possible time. The resolution provided not only for relief and rehabilitation but also for the study of long-term measures for Korea's economic development and social progress.

The proposal of India was defeated, but only by a slight majority. She had asked that a sub-committee be established to attempt to reconcile the programs of Soviet Russia and of the West. More than one-third of the delegates voted in favor of India's resolution, and there probably would have been even more favorable votes had not United States Delegate Warren R. Austin spoken out against the plan at a critical moment in the debate. The Soviets voted in the affirmative, although Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky had said two days previously there was no possibility of reconciling the two proposals.

India's intentions were viewed sympathetically, but a small majority decided that the idealism apparently embedded in its proposal was too far removed from brutal and compelling fact.

Meanwhile, the *ad hoc* Political Committee (set up to shoulder some of the work of the parent Political Committee) debated violations of human rights

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and fundamental freedoms in Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania. More than 25 delegations asked to speak. One curious result of this debate is the apparent contradictory position into which some of the delegations have fallen. A number of the Latin-American countries—together with the Philippines—who are assailing the transgressions of human rights in Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania, are simultaneously promoting a pro-Franco resolution. Bolivia, for example, is asking in relation to the Russian satellites that the United Nations declare it is concerned with the "violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, wherever it occurs." At the same time Bolivia, with six other Latin-American states, is sponsoring a resolution that in effect restores Franco to the good graces of the United Nations. Admittedly, conditions are worse in Eastern Europe today than they are in Spain; but the average Spaniard still has many things he could say—if he dared—about the violation of human rights under Franco.

NUTMEG POLITICS

HARTFORD (NR Correspondent)

Connecticut political candidates are staging the most rambunctious campaign staid old New England has seen in a long time. Helicopters carrying candidates, comic books with political messages, radio programs with listener participation are some of the vote-getting techniques used.

The Democrats are trying hard to keep Chester Bowles in the Governor's mansion and Brien McMahon and William Benton in the Senate. Not since 1934 have the Democrats carried Connecticut in an off-year election. In 1946, the last mid-term year, only about 680,000 people voted, and the Republicans won by about 100,000 votes. This year Democratic party leaders are aiming for a total vote of at least 800,000. In the absence of a presidential coattail, the Democrats feel their ticket is in jeopardy without an unusually large vote.

The stiffest opposition the Democrats have is Representative John Davis Lodge, running against Bowles. Lodge, an effective speaker, is charging that Bowles promised to reduce prices and then did nothing about them. Ignoring Bowles' record on better housing, schools, minorities and labor relations, the GOP has concentrated on this purportedly unkept promise on prices as evidence that other promises the Governor makes are not reliable. The Republicans trumpet the slogan, "Vote for Lodge, A Man You Can Trust." Lodge has carefully dodged any questions about accomplishments of the state government in public welfare, housing, and education. He speaks Italian fluently and has gained popularity among the usually-Democratic Italian-American voters. His wife, the former dancer Francesca Braggiotti, has performed at some of his political rallies. Bowles and the Democrats have the ardent support of labor, Americans for Democratic Action, big city Democrats, and many small towners who have benefitted from his housing and social welfare programs.

The GOP has been concentrating so hard on Bowles that Senator McMahon seems now to be the strongest candidate for reëlection on the Democratic ticket. During the past six years, McMahon has been immune to attack, as the foremost Congressional authority on atomic energy. Despite a series of columns currently appearing in the New York *Journal American*, charging that McMahon (and the *New Republic's* James R. Newman) were engaged in a plot to "socialize" atomic energy, McMahon has kept his own speeches on a high level. He has borrowed a radio technique, successfully used by Republican Senator Wayne Morse in his Oregon primary last spring, conducting 45-minute forums on the air in which he answers questions telephoned in by listeners. McMahon took another Republican trick from Senator Robert A. Taft, who distributed comic books in Ohio showing his accomplishments. McMahon has a serious "comic" book on his role in international and atomic energy affairs. His opponent, Joseph E. Talbot of Naugatuck, formerly a member of the House of Representatives and State Treasurer, is little known except in his own district. McMahon is conducting his own campaign with his own advertising agency and organization, independent of Bowles and the Democratic State Central Committee, but coöperating with them.

The most colorful contribution to the Connecticut campaign has been made by Senator Benton and his opponent, Prescott Bush, Averell Harriman's partner in the New York firm of Brown Brothers, Harriman. Benton watched Senator Lyndon Johnson (D, Tex.) and Governor-elect Gordon Persons (Ala.) fly to victory in helicopters, and engaged a couple of the mosquito planes to cover the state. Taking off from the front lawn of his home at Southport, Benton dropped down at the Durham Fair grounds, a Watertown Democratic picnic, and a Young Democrats' rally on the Plainville Farm Road east of Bristol. One plane, preceding his arrival, carried the legend "Senator Bill Benton, I'm for him," while his own helicopter messaged, "Here's Bill Benton, US Senator."

Connecticut citizens began what may prove to be a Republican trend when they voted on October 2 in local elections in 46 cities and towns. The Republicans held their own in all cases; the Democrats were ousted in four communities—Middletown, Thomaston, Windham and North Canaan. However, Democratic leaders, with larger campaign funds than ever before, believe that the reputations of Bowles, McMahon and Benton will carry the state for the Democrats even though this is an off-presidential election year—if the Democrats will only turn out and vote.

THEY WANT MORE MONEY

The mail-carrying railroads have banded together in an effort to raise mail rates another 70 percent. At present the government pays the railroads about $236 million a year to transport mail. In 1947, the roads received a 25-percent interim increase, but, when they requested 70 percent more in January of this year, the request was denied by the Interstate Commerce Commission. This increase, now again asked for, would cost the government another $175 million annually or more, depend-

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ing upon the varying volume of mail.

The ICC has scheduled a hearing on the railway mail pay case for November 29. In view of some of the recent profit figures reported by the railroads, it seems unlikely that the government will grant such a large increase. For example, net profits of the Pennsylvania Railroad, reported last week, jumped 384 percent—from $3.4 million in eight months of 1949 to $16.7 million for the same period of this year.

A BLOW TO CONSERVATION

High on the list of America's pressing problems is pollution of our streams. All over the country, cities and towns for many decades tried to solve the sewage-disposal question by dumping refuse into some nearby river. Factories with chemical and other wastes saved themselves a few dollars by a similar process. The result was that many streams became totally useless for recreation purposes, unavailable as a source of water except through prohibitively expensive de-contamination, and a menace to health.

Only a few decades ago, steps began to be taken to reverse this process and restore our rivers to something approaching their natural state. But at once it was discovered that many streams, and nearly all the important ones, flowed through more than one state. There was not much point in behaving well downstream if a neighboring commonwealth nearer the headwaters was cheerfully dumping into the channel various types of noisome offal. Accordingly, interstate compacts began to be set up in various parts of the country by which a group of states agreed to work together to purify the waters of a river which they shared.

Such compacts are working well in several parts of the country; but their future has been greatly imperilled because of a case which is now in the courts. In 1948, an Ohio River Valley Water Sanitation compact was created; and in 1949, the West Virginia legislature appropriated $12,250 for West Virginia's share of the first year's expense of operation — a small enough sum in view of the millions of dollars which cleaning up the Ohio River could save. Nevertheless, the State Auditor refused to OK the expenditure and the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia has sustained him.

The argument rests on two main grounds. West Virginia is forbidden by its Constitution to incur debts except for "casual deficit"—which this is not. The interstate compact constituted a delegation of police power, also deemed unconstitutional. It set up a contract which might be confirmed by the US Supreme Court and therefore might mean a transfer of some of West Virginia's sovereignty. It would tend to be binding on future legislatures, something about which state governments are always sensitive.

West Virginia's constitution seems to differ little in these important points from those of the other states; if West Virginia can't make an interstate agreement to end river pollution, neither can most of the commonwealths. For this reason, the case is being taken as soon as possible to the US Supreme Court. In view of the importance of the issue, we can only pray that the court will find some way to enable the states to join to fight pollution.

"All right—whose idea was it?"

JUSTICE FOR MRS. KNAUFF

Mrs. Ellen Knauff, the GI war bride who has been detained on Ellis Island for the past two years, may have another public hearing before the House Judiciary Committee. Representative Emanuel Celler (D, N.Y.), chairman of the committee, announced last week that he would subpoena Mrs. Knauff and Immigration officials from the Justice Department because of new developments in the case. The New York *Post* recently found that the former Czech General, Mikulas Ferjencik, reported source of the secret charges against Mrs. Knauff, is now living in Chicago. Celler openly criticized the Department of Justice for refusing to disclose that Ferjencik was in this country. "I see no reason for continued secrecy," Celler said.

As a result of previous hearings before the Judiciary Committee, the House of Representatives last week passed a private bill to admit Mrs. Knauff as an immigrant. But the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on Immigration has shelved the bill. Senators Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) and Forrest Donnell (R, Mo.), sole members of the Immigration subcommittee, are backed by Justice Department officials who take the position that Mrs. Knauff is a "poor security risk" and that charges against her cannot be disclosed because of the "confidential nature" of the source.

Mrs. Knauff's attorney, Gunther Jacobson, filed a notice of appeal October 3 from Federal Judge Goddard's refusal of a habeas corpus hearing. Whether or not Mrs. Knauff is a "security risk" will remain in question until she is granted a hearing and given the opportunity to confront and examine her accusers.

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SMOKED OUT

Mrs. India Edwards, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, smoked out of the American Medical Association an admission that the organization and its allies are spending $20 million in advertising this month. In a statement, mailed to "fellow Democrats," Mrs. Edwards said that the campaign attacking President Truman's health program is actually aimed at "beating Democrats at the polls." She quoted Representative John Dingell (D, Mich.) who had said, "Everyone will be on the alert to this new, insidious political tactic designed to cripple the Democratic Party and the Fair Deal Program." Mrs. Edwards urged each reader of her letter to telephone 10 friends and tell them what the lobby is doing this month.

On the day the letter was released, Dr. Austin Smith, editor of the American Medical Association *Journal,* who was speaking before the District Medical Society in Washington, D. C., branded the statement as a "vicious lie." The AMA, said Dr. Smith, believes in a two-party system, and it is not out to get the Democrats. He had to admit, however, that the AMA is spending over $1 million on the campaign and that allied organizations will spend about $20 million on "tie-in" ads to oppose the Administration's health insurance program.

JIM CROW GETS EXPELLED

Tennessee and Maryland are cracking the South's solid front against non-segregated education. Early this month, Tennessee agreed to accept the applications of three Negro students for admission to the law and other graduate schools of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. Last week, a Baltimore Negro obtained an order from the City Court directing the University of Maryland to admit him to graduate classes in sociology at College Park, Maryland.

Roy H. Beeler, Attorney General of Tennessee, affirmed with reluctance the right of Negro students to attend the University. "Strife and turmoil" will follow the "letting down of the bars" Beeler predicted. But, in view of the Supreme Court decisions in the Sweatt and McLaurin cases, he felt that "we must bow to the inevitable and go along as good citizens of the United States. The opinions of that court become the law of the land, notwithstanding any opinions that may be entertained by any individuals, however sound such opinions may be."

Two of the applicants to the University of Tennessee, Lincoln A. Blakemey and Joseph H. Patterson, are seeking admission to the law school beginning with the winter quarter, January 2, 1951. Both are veterans of World War II. The third, Fred B. Renwick, now a graduate student in chemistry at Atlanta University, has requested admission to the University of Tennessee in the Fall of 1951, for further study in his field. Beeler's ruling, now under consideration by the University Board of Trustees, averted the possibility of a law suit by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Beeler assailed such "outside influences," charging that Negro demands were "prompted by a desire for political preferment." His bitter comment was summed up in one phrase, "We in the South have no other alternative." Actually, Beeler's ruling is the South's first compliance with the Supreme Court's decisions without court action in each case.

In Maryland, Parren J. Mitchell, 27-year-old Negro, took his case to court when the University of Maryland set up a complete graduate course in sociology in Baltimore so that he would not attend such a course on the all-white campus at College Park, Maryland, where the University is situated. Dr. Ronald Bamford, acting dean of the graduate school, testified before the Baltimore City Court that he had been instructed by Dr. H. C. Byrd, president of the University, to make arrangements for the "off-campus" course. Dr. Bamford admitted that "there is no question that if the petitioner had been a white man, he would have been assigned as a student at College Park."

In ordering the University to admit Mitchell at College Park, Judge John T. Tucker pointed out that the special course (at Baltimore) would not give Mitchell his constitutional right to equal opportunity, since he would be denied the right to exchange views with other students and participate in seminars and other campus activities. Whether or not Mitchell will have to appeal the case depends upon the University Board of Regents' decision at a mid-October meeting.

The University of Virginia at Charlottesville announced September 27 the acceptance of Walter N. Ridley, a faculty member of Virginia State College [Negro], for extension classes leading to a doctorate of philosophy in education. Ridley will be the first Negro to become a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at the University.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

The only Frenchmen who are feeling sure of themselves these days are the ones who are supremely confident that they have the panacea to cure France's profound lack of confidence in herself and her future. That panacea is of course the same which the Germans and Italians used, and which the Russians are now using—the strong man. This time the name is Charles de Gaulle. The General himself is so sure that his former henchman, René Pleven, won't be able to survive the effects of the political crisis over German disarmament that he is already moving in for the kill. The walls and hoardings of Paris have blossomed out with big red, white and blue posters calling on all true, patriotic Frenchmen to be ready to hear *the* voice and to obey.

It's quite true that de Gaulle's chances have improved since the present French Government lost the Second Battle of the Waldorf. Defense Minister Jules Moch, the strong man of Pleven's team, failed to get much further with General Marshall than had Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, the

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diplomat of the team, with Dean Acheson. And Pleven, twice defeated, found himself facing a choice between two paths to final political disaster.

On the one hand, he had excellent reason to believe that if he openly accepted American policy on German disarmament, his Government would be overthrown by the pressure of French public sentiment. For a majority of Frenchmen in the parties on which he had to depend for support—those between the Communists and the Gaullists—agreed with the *Monde* of Paris that:

> If we give Germany the impression that we are counting essentially and immediately on her to resist Communism we shall risk compromising Europe's equilibrium, we shall stimulate the reawakening of German militarism in a democracy which does not yet have solid foundations.

The result, moreover, would be to create once more an atmosphere of distrust between France and Germany because the Germans would be inclined to back away from the Schuman Plan which "the Americans themselves have often hailed" as the basis of Franco-German reconciliation, hence of peace in the West. A majority of the Frenchmen in the parties on which a non-Communist and non-Gaullist Cabinet must depend also fear that the American plan for German rearmament would finally close the door on any chance to avoid war. The *Monde,* which usually speaks for the Government on such matters, went on:

> The French Government is convinced that in preventing haste, it has well served the cause of Europe and of peace. . . . We must also remind the United States that France in giving priority to Atlantic rearmament is inspired by the desire to save the peace in Europe. It does not accept the fatality of war. It does not wish to believe that it may be impossible to bring about some day a detente between the East and the West.

The *Monde,* only recently converted from neutralism, was now speaking for those Frenchmen who, facing the post-Korean facts, want neither preventive war nor provocative collective security. If Pleven refused to listen to them, he might become a French Kerensky and be forced to listen to de Gaulle. He could not therefore take the path which led to accepting American policy on Germany.

But, on the other hand, he had almost equally good reason to believe that if he continued to resist American policy, his Government would be undermined by the pressure of American public sentiment. France is still far too dependent on America for a French Premier to be able to fly in the face of an American public opinion increasingly distrustful of the French, and of their willingness to play their part.

Pleven's dilemma called for political skill. He used the device of changing the frame of reference. Under the heading, "No Wehrmacht," his newspaper, *Le Petit Bleu des Cotes-du-Nord,* wrote:

> A final effort must be made to learn the real intention of the Soviet Union in regard to East Germany. . . . The determination of the nations of the Atlantic Pact to create an air-tight defense system in Western Europe cannot be doubted by the Soviet Government. Will this Government accept the responsibility for an arms race between the two Germany's, with the tremendous effect that it might one day have on the balance of forces between the East and the West? Even if a conversation has only one chance in a thousand of being successful, is it not the task of French diplomacy to try to get an authoritative answer to that preliminary question, and if the answer cannot be obtained, to explain the reason clearly to public opinion?

Other members of the French Cabinet picked up the same theme. Other newspapers came forward with practical suggestions, such as putting the question to Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky at the UN General Assembly. The London *Times* published most of Pleven's article without (as the French press carefully pointed out) criticizing it. There was of course favorable comment in the journals of British Labour's Left Wing. And although the London *New Statesman* may have (as usual) been overstating the facts by saying that the Americans had "once more misread the sentiment of Europe," there was little doubt of the strength of a sentiment in a large part of western Europe in favor of Pleven's "last chance" proposal.

What Pleven had in effect done was to drag in two other fellows to help him out of his fix. The issue of the Waldorf conference, he implied, was not really between the French and the American positions; it was between the two parts of Germany, since the American pressure for immediate West German rearmament was conditioned on the danger that the Russians might be preparing to use East Germany for a European version of Korea. The only man who could answer the jackpot question about Russian intentions in East Germany is of course Marshal Stalin; and the only man who dares fly in the face of American public opinion boldly enough to authorize the asking of the question is the President Truman who wrote the McCarran Bill veto.

From the start, Pleven recognized that the chance of getting any answer from Stalin was not better than one in a thousand. The chance of getting the right answer is much smaller. But the chance of getting Truman to permit the asking should be good. If the French do the asking, the only danger—loss of prestige—would not be present for the Americans. Neither time nor any other practical factor in the field of building collective security is at stake. Though the French lost the two Battles of the Waldorf, the Americans did not win.

Truman might be taking the risk of being accused, especially by the Republicans, of helping the French to stall. Perhaps they are stalling. But letting Pleven ask Stalin about East Germany would make it less easy for the French to stall (if they were stalling). In fact, Pleven and Moch are not stalling; they are merely (and understandably) interested in a subject Truman understands—the election returns. Like Truman, they are convinced that they are serving their country better than the men who would take their places if they were defeated. If Truman prefers preventive collective security to provocative collective security or preventive war—as he surely does—he would do well to make de Gaulle less sure of himself by letting Pleven put the question to Stalin.

PERCY WINNER

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WAR TAXES: LOOPHOLES FOR THE RICH

by Robert Wallace

THE BIG JOB of getting the tax bill this country needs has yet to be done. Before it recessed, Congress passed a hodgepodge bill, with some good and some bad features; it produces more revenue, but that's about all that can be said for it. Most conspicuous omission was an excess-profits tax, and a pledge was given to write one after the Congressional recess, which ends November 27.

Left untouched are gaping loopholes such as the 27.5 percent oil-and-gas-depletion allowance under which the government gives away to the rich oil companies $300 million a year—precisely what a comprehensive Federal Aid to Education program would cost. On the other hand, Congress cut off another oil grab aimed at drastically reducing taxes paid by the owners of oil royalties.

The primary value of the new tax bill is the lesson it taught, or should have taught, those liberals who strive to protect the general interest against the inroads of the special interests. It made these four points clear:

1. Tax legislation cannot go by default simply because it is "complicated." Certainly its details are complicated, just as the details of labor legislation are complicated. But the social and economic consequences, like those of labor laws, rise far above mere details. These consequences are the real issues and they are simple.

2. The special interests are consistent, persistent and demanding. They are coördinated and smooth working. The general interest needs these qualities just as much, if not more so.

3. Tax issues should be made political issues. That doesn't mean just the excess-profits tax or corporation-tax rates. It means that voting records on tax loopholes should be trotted out and used effectively. Most observers will find a lot of Congressmen prone to vote for special interests in the absence of public heat.

4. The slogan of the special interests is: "The best defense is a good offense." The oil boys grabbed the offensive in the fight over the tax bill by trying to get further concessions. When they failed, it looked like a defeat for them. Actually, they were victorious because they kept their existing privileges. Those defending the general interest should be the ones to take the offensive.

Here's how the tax bill developed. Prior to the Korean war, President Truman asked Congress to reduce excise taxes (which, like sales taxes, hit the lower and middle-income groups the hardest) and to make up the resulting loss of revenue by plugging up tax loopholes. The House of Representatives passed such a bill, which was definitely a step in the right direction.

Then came Korea and the need for more revenue. The Senate responded by keeping all excise taxes, raising corporate taxes by $1.5 billion and personal income taxes by $3 billion. But in the process they not only omitted an excess-profits tax; they also tried to tear open many loopholes that had been closed by the House and to drill a few more. This in spite of the desperate need for more revenue to stem the tide of inflation. Logical? Well, hardly; but then, politics rarely is.

During the debate on the tax bill one could witness a very strange spectacle. We could see Senators, who normally plead the need for less spending because of the government deficit, speaking and voting for tax loopholes which would cost the government hundreds of millions of dollars. Some, who always oppose subsidies for health, education and housing, spoke and voted for tax subsidies to the rich, resulting in heavy loss to the federal treasury.

In general, there are three main methods of tax avoidance: the capital-gains tax, income splitting, and deduction allowances.

The capital-gains tax works this way: Suppose a man buys some General Motors stock at $50 a share and sells it two years later at $75 a share. He has netted $25 a share, which adds that much to his income. But it has been argued that it would be unfair to tax him on the whole $25 in one year, since it took him more than a year to accrue it. Therefore, the present law says that he must pay a tax on half of the profit or at the rate of 25 percent of the profit, whichever is smaller. As a matter of fact, the length of time he must hold it has been reduced to six months. So, if a man invests in an apartment building or stocks and sells them six months later at a handsome profit, he pays an income tax on only half of the profit, or never more than 25 percent of it.

Another way to avoid income taxes is to split your income so that several small taxes are paid rather than a single large one. Anyone can now split his income with his wife and two children so that four taxes on $1,000 are paid rather than one tax on $4,000. However, certain businessmen can do so, simply by making their wives and children partners in their businesses. For that matter, they can split their income among their sisters, their

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cousins, and their aunts. A single man owning a business earning $40,000, normally taxed $17,000, can make his three sisters "partners" and pay four taxes on $10,000 amounting to only $8,500. Of course, the sisters would put their earnings back into the business, happy to have been able to help brother avoid the higher taxes.

Existing laws prohibit the use of partnerships purely for tax avoidance purposes. Partners must "substantially contribute" to a business before they can be called partners for tax purposes. The Senate tried to loosen up this provision, but the House held firm in the Conference Committee so that the law remains unchanged.

The third method of avoiding income taxes is made possible when Congress allows certain deductions on which no tax need be paid. Normal deductions are given for such items as dependents, charitable contributions, interest and state taxes. But Congress has made exceptions for some people and has allowed them extra deductions.

One of the greatest tax loopholes, left completely unplugged in the recent tax bill, fits into the category of special deductions. This is the 27.5 percent oil-depletion allowance. Here's the way it works:

An oil company which produces oil in a year worth $100 million can deduct 27.5 percent of this amount, or $27.5 million, and pay a tax only on the remainder of $72.5 million. These are gross figures. The percentage depletion allowance may be as high as 50 percent of the net income from the oil property. The primary justification of this tax dodge hangs on the tenuous assertion that we need to "stimulate" the oil industry.

The Senate tried to open up a new loophole to allow the recipients of oil royalties payments to "assign" this income for a period of time to a second person in return for a flat sum. Then, instead of paying a tax on this income at regular income-tax rates, they would call the money a "capital gains" and pay only the capital-gains rate. Senator Russell Long (D, La.), whose own constituency of Louisiana is one of the major oil-producing states, asserted that this provision would cut the tax of royalty owners at least 50 percent. However, the House again held firm in the Conference Committee and kept this loophole closed.

But a loophole still left open is that resulting from the failure of the government to tax dividends, like wages and salaries, at their source. The government loses at least $170 million a year on dividend taxes because so many coupon-clippers "forget" to report their dividend earnings.

The House of Representatives moved to correct this situation by slapping a withholding tax on dividends and treating such income the same as wages and salaries. It is difficult to understand why dividends should get any more favorable treatment than wages and salaries—especially when our tenderness costs us $170 million or more a year.

The Senate struck out this provision, however, and the Conference Committee omitted it in the final version of the bill. Income from dividends will remain untaxed at the source.

Yet, thanks to the House of Representatives, the tax bill isn't so bad from the standpoint of loopholes. In general, it holds the line pretty well despite the pressures from the Senate.

A small band of Senate liberals, led by Senator Humphrey (D, Minn.), and including Douglas (D, Ill.), Langer (R, N.D.), Lehman (D, N.Y.) and Myers (D, Pa.), fought the Senate excesses vigorously, but usually got voted down by those who, although conservative, wanted to be "liberal" with the tax treatment of the well-to-do.

In the House of Representatives, credit for stopping most of the Senate excesses in the Conference Committee belongs to the Democratic Representatives Doughton (N.C.), Cooper (Tenn.), Dingell (Mich.) and Mills (Ark.).

The tax bill is good, in that it will raise $4.5 billion per year of additional revenue—not enough, but a good start. It closes the loophole exempting life-insurance companies from taxation, the one on tax exemptions on unrelated business income of charitable organizations, and the one by which government employees in US possessions have escaped taxation.

The tax bill is bad in that it somewhat broadens percentage depletion allowances, permits estate taxes to be paid in certain cases with money that has escaped income taxation, permits corporate executives in certain cases to receive stock options subject to capital-gains tax rates rather than those on income, and permits newspaper and magazine publishers to deduct extravagant promotional expenses rather than capitalize them.

But both the goodness and the badness of the tax bill are primarily tied up with what it does *not* contain. It is good in that it did not contain certain loopholes sought by the Senate. These include: the tax-free corporate "spin-off" which would allow corporate profits under certain conditions to be made subject to the capital-gains rather than income-tax rates; tax-avoiding family partnerships; capital-gains treatment of income from oil royalties; unrestricted use of employee stock options to avoid income taxes and the unrestricted application of tax-free stock redemptions to pay estate taxes. Nor did it include a House provision for reducing the holding

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period necessary to qualify for capital-gains treatment from six to three months.

But it was bad in that it did nothing to include an excess-profits tax, nothing to tighten up existing percentage depletion allowances, nothing to change the capital-gains holding period from six to at least 18 months, nothing to require the life-insurance companies to pay back taxes, which they are morally obligated to do since they originally escaped taxation because of a technical error in the Revenue Act of 1942, and nothing to tax dividends, like wages and salaries, at their source.

But this matter of taxation is not ended. The new tax bill is simply an "interim" measure; a new one will be up late this year or early in 1951. Liberals will then be working not only for an excess-profits tax, but also to plug up existing loopholes. This will be difficult, since the special interests will be striving in the opposite direction.

This fight will be constant and continuing. Although the crux of a tax bill is obscured by many complicated details, its social significance is far-reaching. For tax laws tell who is to pay how much to maintain the government. Much involuted wordage, dealing with seemingly unimportant concessions, obscures the fact that the tax law is an issue. If liberals ignore this issue, the brunt of government spending will be borne by wage and salary earners generally and the principle of the graduated income tax will be damaged even further.

The forces of special privilege are always active. Plenty of Congressmen and Senators seem to agree with them. Others will vote with them unless the public shows an interest. There is no question but that preserving the public interest is a time-consuming and wearing job, in the face of the constant pressure on Congress. But this effort is necessary if we are to protect the mass of Americans, provide the necessary funds to carry out the general operations of the government and defense mobilization, and protect the country from inflation.

NUTRITION TODAY AND TOMORROW

by George R. Cowgill

FEW ASPECTS of science can have made greater advances during the past few decades than has nutrition. At the same time, we are still far from knowing as much as we need to about this complicated and important subject.

Modern nutritional study may be said, in a general way, to begin with the introduction of the word "vitamine" (vital + amine) and efforts of Funk to isolate the anti-beriberi "vitamine" in 1912-13. In 1929 the subject was recognized by bestowal of the Nobel Prize in medicine on F. Gowland Hopkins of Cambridge University, jointly with C. Eijkman, the Dutch physician in Java, who was the first to produce a deficiency disease (similar to beriberi) in experimental animals, out of which grew the whole vast development of the vitamins.

Less well known, but also important, is the work of Thomas B. Osborne of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station, and LaFayette B. Mendel of Yale, in regard to the respective nutritional values of various proteins. They showed (in 1911) that proteins may differ considerably in their true value as foods for the animal body. This is because of differences in the amino-acid makeup of various proteins; some of these amino acids cannot be made in the animal body and must be provided through the food. We now know that ten of the amino acids are absolutely necessary for growth in the rat; and William C. Rose of the University of Illinois (a student of Mendel) has shown that eight of these ten are needed by human beings. Since his work we have learned further that a protein deficient in certain essential amino acids may nevertheless be useful if the needed amino acids are supplied at the same time in the form of some other protein. Properly selected foods, especially those of animal origin, can easily satisfy our protein requirements.

More than 50 years ago it was realized that certain mineral nutrients, such as calcium, phosphorus and iron, are necessary for health. Calcium and phosphorus, present in rather small quantities in the young animal, are stored—for obvious reasons—in the adult, especially in the bones. Iron is part of the molecule of the red pigment, hemoglobin, found in the red blood cells, which plays an important part in carrying oxygen from the lungs to the tissues and carbon dioxide from the tissues to the lungs. Today we know that there are a dozen or more separate inorganic factors essential for nutrition in one or more of the laboratory animals that have been studied, or in man. The number of vitamins has also greatly increased. Essential fatty acid must likewise be mentioned. The complete list of necessary factors for growth and health totals more than 40 items, of which three-quarters have been discovered during the past 40

This is the tenth in a series of articles reporting on some aspects of American civilizaton at the twentieth century's halfway mark.

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years and something like half of them in the last 25.

Undoubtedly, the list is not yet complete. No one appears to have fed the guinea pig successfully on a *completely* artificial diet. What is lacking? We don't yet know, and it is important that we should find out; what is learned about the dietary necessities of the guinea pig may have tremendously important implications for human beings. As one of many illustrations of this: Vitamin K, the blood-clotting vitamin now so widely used in medicine, was discovered only after it had been noticed that chicks fed certain rations developed a hemorrhagic disease. Efforts to find out why they did so led eventually to discovery of Vitamin K.

Developments in the basic science of nutrition during the past few decades have had great influence on other sciences—bacteriology, for example. The bacterium needs a "balanced diet" just as you or I; if even one of the needed chemical substances is lacking, it will not grow—a fact that has given us the modern technique of microbioassay for amino acids and vitamins, and greatly facilitates the process of discovering and isolating new vitamins.

This technique was used in isolating Vitamin B-12, the anti-pernicious anemia factor, reported about two and a half years ago. In the late twenties, Dr. George R. Minot and associates at the Harvard Medical School demonstrated the great value of liver in the treatment of pernicious anemia. It was necessary however to take large amounts of liver for the desired effect, and for many years chemists worked to find the potent, minute fraction responsible for the therapeutic effect. As early as 1943, an extract had been developed one-four hundred thousandth as bulky as liver tissue; but even of this, the active substance constituted only five or ten parts in a thousand. This active ingredient was finally isolated, following work by teams of animal nutritionists, bacteriologists and organic chemists, including Mary S. Shorb, C. A. Cary, A. M. Hartman and others. Vitamin B-12 has proved important not only to prevent or remedy pernicious anemia, but for the growth of the whole organism in various animal species, a fact which opens up very wide horizons for future study.

Years ago, nutritionists used to think of the various classes of dietary essentials, vitamins, amino acids, mineral nutrients, etc., as being quite separate and distinct. Today however we know that many members of these various groups are somehow related to each other in their action. Consider for example the classic work done on pellagra.

About 40 years ago Dr. Joseph Goldberger of the US Public Health Service discovered that pellagra was related to faulty diet. When the vitamin riboflavin was isolated, it was at first thought to be the substance lacking in cases of pellagra; but it was eventually discovered through work on the canine disease, "black tongue," which is analogous to pellagra, that nicotinic acid was the anti-pellagra factor. But then came a puzzle: cow's milk, which is effective against pellagra, is low in nicotinic acid. Eventually it was found that the amino acid, tryptophane, which occurs in milk, helps the body itself to form nicotinic acid. It has been further discovered that certain other amino acids operate to interfere somehow in this relationship; W. A. Krehl, now at the Yale Nutrition Laboratory, and others who have worked in this field, have called this phenomenon "amino-acid imbalance."

Rapid progress is being made in the new field that is thus opened up. Certain essential minerals, such as magnesium and copper, are constituents of certain enzymes. Vitamin B-12 contains cobalt in its molecule. The common disease, rickets, is the result of faulty calcification of growing bones, because of an improper relationship among calcium, phosphorus and the fat-soluble Vitamin D. This vitamin, as is well known, can be supplied in the diet, or formed within the organism by exposure of the skin to sunlight, or to certain wavelengths of radiant energy, including ultra-violet lamps.

Such discoveries make it doubly important that we learn all we can about the destruction of vitamins and the loss of the so-called trace minerals through improper cooking, and poor methods of preserving, transporting and storing foods. Progress in this area has been rapid. During the Second World War, we learned to dehydrate foods and thus save badly needed shipping space. Potatoes, for example, which are 80 percent water, can be greatly condensed in bulk—though the products got a bad reputation among the troops who had to eat them! Soy beans can have their oil extracted, and the resulting meal can be incorporated into numerous food recipes, while the oil that is extracted can also be used as food and in other ways. Peanuts can be handled in a similar way.

During that war, there was much discussion of the so-called enrichment of highly milled wheat flour, and eventually the Food and Drug Administration set up standards for it, with specified amounts of the vitamins, thiamin, riboflavin and niacin, and the minerals calcium and iron. Thus the staple food, wheat flour, is used as a carrier for these important dietary factors which, in the opinion of many nutritional authorities, large numbers of Americans do not obtain in the amounts optimal for good health. Before this was done, it was necessary to learn by careful research whether the added vitamins would still be there when the bread was eaten. It was also necessary to develop techniques for producing the

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vitamins at a cost low enough so that the millers could afford to use them.

Similar techniques are now being used to enrich corn, an important part of the staple diet especially in the South, in order to cut down the incidence of pellagra, and similarly to enrich rice to protect from beriberi the eaters of white rice in the Orient.

Our diet today contains substances our grandfathers never heard of, and is likely to contain more of them. Yeast, for instance, is valuable for vitamins, certain inorganic elements and protein, and not merely for vitamins alone, as many people suppose. During World War II, the possibility of cultivating yeast for its protein content was explored, and a pilot plant was put into operation on the Island of Jamaica. The chief difficulty appears to be disguising the characteristic taste, which most people find unpleasant.

A more recent development has to do with another one-celled plant, chlorella, which differs from yeast in containing the green pigment, chlorophyll. Chlorella, grown in water containing certain substances, chiefly inorganic, quickly produces impressive amounts of protein containing all the amino acids now known to be necessary for growth. Unfortunately, chlorella presents a problem like that of yeast; it tastes like alfalfa.

Chlorella is of course not the only plant that can be produced by soilless agriculture. Many common vegetables can be grown on a wire screen permitting the roots to lie in a liquid which contains the chemicals needed for their growth. During World War II, this type of agriculture was employed to provide vegetables for US troops on oceanic islands which are almost without soil.

Plants, like animals, can develop diseases because of the insufficiency of certain mineral elements. Some enthusiasts have taken this lesson far too much to heart, arguing that we could solve practically all our food problems merely by improving the soil. It is well to remember that the ability of plants to employ each of the nutrient elements is definitely limited. You cannot produce super-plants merely by stuffing the soil with certain ingredients, although progress is being made through other means in the direction of bigger and better types.

Man is omnivorous, eating both plant and animal material. From a purely economic standpoint, it is cheaper to eat plants than to raise plants, feed them to animals, and then eat the animals. Many factors other than strictly economic ones enter, however, into the food habits of any nation. An element which must be considered is the ability of the soil in various parts of the world to support specific crops, and the effect of climate on food animals. For example, cow's milk has very high nutritional quality; but unfortunately, the dairy cow that thrives well in the temperate zones does badly in the tropics. Efforts are being made to cross American cattle with the Brahman breed, which have sweat glands and are thus better able to endure tropical life.

From this admittedly very brief and hasty consideration of the past and present status of food and nutrition it must be evident that we do have at the present time a large body of knowledge concerning food and the science of nutrition awaiting application for human benefit. Many problems naturally present themselves in any attempt to secure such application. Some of them are economic, some are of an international and diplomatic nature, some relate to peculiar circumstances and location in the world. Many people believe in the Malthus doctrine that the size of the population in any area is in the last analysis dependent upon the food supply. Some thinkers argue that all of this perfection of knowledge concerning foods and greater, more intensive cultivation of available land will simply result in an undue increase in the birth rate of the population and a sharpening of the many problems that a too large population presents.

This argument will probably not be settled for some time to come. In any discussion of it one has to consider the world as a whole, in contrast to parts where special situations prevail. It certainly seems likely that many areas will continue to be "backward," from one point of view or another, for many years longer. It can be argued that the problem might be solved to some extent by having the good, high-production areas furnish surplus foods to the low-production areas. It is evident, however, that this idea would involve additional problems of transportation, payment for such foods, and numerous related considerations.

In recent years, as a result of better control of disease, saving of more babies, improved hygiene and the like, the normal life expectancy in the United States has been raised substantially; it is now about 67 years for men and some five to ten more for women. In the United States older age groups form a larger and larger part of the general population. This is partly responsible for the current tremendous interest in greater security, in old-age pensions, and allied matters. By learning more about their nutritional problem, we can help these elders in our society to live happier, healthier lives and to make their contribution to the overall economic and cultural wealth of their times.

In summary, it appears evident that during the last 35 years the science of nutrition has flowered out to an extent quite undreamed of by nutritionists at the beginning of this century. We now know pretty well what

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individual factors are essential for a good diet. We know something about what these factors do and why they are important, though we still have much to learn. While continuing to study the basic science itself, we are also making practical applications of existing knowledge in the production of food, its transportation, its marketing, and special uses in particular disease situations. We are making advances on all fronts. Some of our youngest new investigators may have the good fortune to be able to realize our present hopes in the *next* 50 years.

POLITICAL SUICIDE IN NEW YORK

By Mickey Levine

NEW YORK CITY Democrats have lately shown a tendency toward mass destruction most unusual in the party of Al Smith and Franklin Roosevelt. With great pain and effort they seem to have snatched defeat out of the jaws of apparent victory in 1950.

This was to have been the great year. Cynics might growl about Democratic deceptions and sentimental idealists might prate romantic nonsense about the need for a political realignment; but after eight years of Deweyism, New York was destined to again be the citadel of liberalism, inhabited by the Democratic Party, its junior partner the Liberal Party, the trade unions and Americans for Democratic Action.

Dewey, finally crushed in 1948, would surely not rise again and his not too apparent heir, ancient Joe Hanley, would certainly be trounced by either Averell Harriman, Oscar Ewing or the redoubtable Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. Senator Herbert Lehman, the one man esteemed by all, was certain to defeat any candidate named by the GOP.

As a means of clinching the victory—for after all, a large segment of the Democratic Party in certain sections in New York City had preferred Republican Dulles to Lehman as their symbol of liberalism in the previous election—Boss Edward Flynn arranged a slick deal whereby President Truman removed Mayor William O'Dwyer from New York City and appointed him as Ambassador to Mexico. O'Dwyer, who had embarrassed his former loyal adherents by his erratic conduct, gallantly responded to this higher draft to serve his city by going to Mexico. There he would be safe from the petty annoyances of transportation problems, dirty sidewalks, snowstorms, a recalcitrant district attorney digging up scandals about corruption in the Police Department, and racketeers always showing up to be photographed at important functions of Tammany Hall. A municipal election would bring out the enormous city machine vote which, though it might be more concerned with a few receiverships, deputy commissionerships and profitable contracts than with the grave problems of international and national existence, would nevertheless help the entire ticket.

Then came a series of political atomic detonations which left destruction, despair, and confusion in their wake. Especially confusion.

First, the Republican Party refused to coöperate. Spurred on by fears of disaster at the polls, by loss of prestige and—of greater importance—patronage, the Republican leaders reluctantly realized they needed Dewey again. With a well contrived enthusiasm they dumped Hanley and drafted the Governor. Pliable Joe Hanley was promoted upstairs and nominated to run against Senator Lehman, a somewhat dubious honor. The remnants of the "Dewey team" were salvaged and a fairly strong ticket chosen. Mr. Dewey selected Edward Corsi, his Labor Department head, as the Republican choice for Mayor. Dewey himself was no longer going to be the "elusive" candidate; if he had lost the presidential prize by not talking enough, he gave evidence that if it were possible he would now try to lose the governorship by talking too much.

At this critical moment, Boss Flynn and Boss Carmine DeSapio, abetted by the minor bosses of Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island, went into secret session. Their satellites peeked through the keyhole, wondering and waiting—but not for long.

The old reliable Democratic formula for nominating candidates, carefully stored away in the clubhouse files ever since it had been used with such notorious success in two previous campaigns to turn over the state of Al Smith, FDR and Lehman to the Republicans, was meticulously applied.

You take equal parts of one Catholic — preferably Irish—one Protestant, preferably an Italian who might be mistaken for a Catholic, and one Jewish candidate, and stir well, very well. Add a dash of promises to the Liberal Party and the trade unions and then serve—cold. This dish needed ice, lots of it. The Democratic slate was Judge Conway for Governor, Senator Lehman to succeed himself, and a promise of Judge Ferdinand Pecora for Mayor of New York City.

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The professional liberals gasped, reeled, and—to their credit—howled. According to the New York *Post,* Judge Conway's record made Taft appear to be a patron saint of Labor, Rankin an advocate of FEPC, and Dewey a dangerous radical.

The CIO unions shouted "nothing doing," the ADA protested. The Liberal Party, lulled by the promise of Pecora, made no public statement. Dewey was jubilant —and then Judge Conway graciously declined.

Back into huddle went the Democratic chiefs and back to keyhole went their true but terrified tribesmen. The formula had to be diluted. Sometimes if the medicine is too bitter, it can't be swallowed and the patients nominate their own candidate. Out came the sachems. This time it was to be Representative Walter A. Lynch, known to many in the Bronx, a Flynn stalwart of whom it was reported that he had taken care of the boss's interests in Washington. Lynch was nominated at the Democratic State Convention in Rochester, a convention in which the only popular delegate was Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.—whom the bosses didn't want.

Next came the selling job. The unions accepted the Flynn "package deal" except for a few AFL unions which, practicing realistic politics to the logical conclusion, always support the incumbents. Then the Liberal Party made its decision.

Judge Pecora was their man for the mayoralty nomination, Lehman was and is everyone's choice for Senator. As for Lynch, well, at least he was a New Dealer, wasn't he? The party leaders bared their breasts and earnestly exclaimed that all this and more was necessary in order to elect Lehman. Some disturbed Liberals thought other factors should be considered; after all, the party was supposed to support candidates who agreed with the Liberal Party platform; Lynch, they maintained, was severely deficient on several important points.

The dissidents shouted for the independent nomination of A. A. Berle, Jr., titular leader of the Liberal Party; a few die-hards shouted "No" to the designation of Lynch. But "one must be practical" in politics. A Supreme Court designation for the party, the prospect of municipal appointments, the dream of playing pinochle once again in Gracie Mansion (New York's White House), add up to a consummation devoutly not to be sneered at.

Further to complicate the already confused situation in New York's harassed liberal movement, the acting Mayor of New York, Vincent R. Impellitteri, decided to run for Mayor as an "independent" Democrat. It might be argued that if one Democratic candidate for Mayor will bring out a tremendous machine vote, two Democrats opposing each other should bring out all the registered Democrats in New York, both the living and the dead. But evidently this may not be so, for the Democrats are worried and angry.

First Mr. DeSapio offered the acting mayor a business proposition (Vincent, or "Imp," said it was a "deal") of a $28,000 job if he would quit and go along with the candidacy of Pecora. But Impellitteri had been promised the support of the AFL and CIO unions which had so nobly supported him (along with lovable Bill O'Dwyer) against Newbold Morris the year before. The brethren preferred "Imp" to Pecora, who is considered a "Dubinsky man." It is a well known, if tragic, fact that the divided union leadership in New York has developed a more intense hatred for each other than they have demonstrated even against Hartley and Taft.

Encouraged, Vincent remained in the fight even though most of his support sullenly switched to Pecora. Tammany is really worried, since some disgruntled Tammany leaders have announced their switch to "Imp," and another internecine war seems to be brewing in the Hall. New Yorkers, though generally docile before the organized machines, often roll up hundreds of thousands of votes for a rebel or an independent who, they believe, really wants to fight for the people.

A less important factor, but nevertheless one to be considered in this year's election, is the debilitated American Labor Party, the mouthpiece of Stalinism in New York. From a half-million votes in 1948, they dwindled to 300,000 in '49; they will lose many more this year, sans Wallace, sans Pressman, sans everything. However, last year the ALP ran no candidate for Senator. This year they have their own man in the field, and there will be few ALP votes which will help any other Senatorial candidate.

What should the independent voter do in New York? He can and must vote for Senator Lehman. Can he vote for Representative Lynch as the liberal antidote to Dewey? Lynch has voted correctly on many important Federal issues and the practical politicoes tell us we must not expect perfection. Yet how does candidate Lynch stand on the crucial questions of Federal and state support for parochial schools, on acceptance of Franco Spain as a respectable ally, on the McCarran-Wood Bill, which the President, also a Democrat, vetoed?

And what decision shall the independent voter make in the mayoralty campaign? Certainly, Judge Pecora is a fine man. But will he root out the corruption which has destroyed the very foundation of New York City government? Will he be "boss-free"? Or will he be controlled by the same vicious men who have controlled previous mayors?

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Helen Douglas and Tobey*

SENATOR BRIDGES of New Hampshire has never been much of a credit to his party, his state, or the nation. However, he has always tried to maintain a facade of decency behind which to carry on his sometimes highly questionable political activities. He has always, on the surface, seemed to accept the obligation to bow to the will of the Republican voters at the primary and support the candidate chosen by them. He could well afford to do this when it meant supporting the outstanding Charles W. Tobey.

The unsportsmanlike Bridges ran a candidate in the primary in an effort to defeat Senator Tobey for renomination. Although it is of slight moment, the name of the Bridges primary stooge is Wesley Powell. When Tobey won the nomination by a scant 1,300 majority, the political proprieties called for a prompt announcement of support for Tobey on the part of Bridges. Instead, he tried to run his stooge as an "independent" candidate, ignoring the strong demand from his fellow Republicans to withdraw his puppet. Bridges was willing to throw the election to a Democrat. But late last week Powell was ruled out of the race on a technicality.

Such an expensive campaign as Bridges waged against Tobey during the primaries has never before been seen in New Hampshire. Money bubbled like vintage champagne. John L. Lewis, who used to pay Bridges $35,000 a year, was supposed to be generously shelling out the dues-money collected from his miners to help the Senator accomplish his despicable purpose to defeat a better man than himself. The $35,000-a-year windfall went to Bridges as one of three trustees of the miners' pension fund. Finally, the stench became so great that Bridges had to give up his smelly side job.

Among other contributors to the anti-Tobey campaign fund were Tom Girdler of Republic Steel, Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, Neil Tolman, Washington lobbyist for Phillips Petroleum Company of Oklahoma, and Alfred Kohlberg, lobbyist for Chiang Kai-shek and ghost speech writer for the ineffable Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin. There seem to have been some phonies in the alleged list of contributors, put there to cover up for those who produced the money from outside of New Hampshire, apparently to pay for favors received or expected.

If New Hampshire runs true to form on election day, it will give a stinging rebuke to Senator Bridges for attempting to defeat one of the ablest and most public spirited members of the US Senate. This cannot be done by electing the Democratic candidate as seems to be the intention. He, too, has played political "footie" with Bridges.

Out in California, another really first-rate candidate is running for the Senate in the person of Helen Gahagan Douglas who is notably serving her third term as a member of the House of Representatives. Mrs. Douglas, like Senator Tobey, is outstanding not only for her intelligence but for her courage—if she were a man I would say "guts." If even half of our Senators and Representatives had Mrs. Douglas' courage and deep concern for the people, we would have the most outstanding parliament in the world. She would never tolerate thought control, that prelude to the police state advocated by her Republican opponent, Richard M. Nixon. She is not trying to frighten the voters of her state into supporting her; she is pointing out to them as a goal the realization of their hopes for a better and happier society.

Mrs. Douglas is opposed to the land monopolists who want the Government to invest billions of dollars for their personal profit in the Imperial Valley of California. She is in favor of the family-sized-farm law enacted by a Republican administration some 20 years ago. That she can think in terms of the national welfare is proved by the fact that Mrs. Douglas has had the courage to accept the decision of the US Supreme Court that the oil-rich offshore lands of the State of California belong to all of the people and not merely to those of her state. This position she has avowed publicly with the result that the powerful oil interests, not only of her own state, but of the nation generally, can be expected to pour money into the coffers of the opposing candidate whom they consider "safe and sound" from the point of view of their own greedy selfishness. This candidate necessarily has to be the Republican, Nixon.

In order to cover her huge state adequately, Mrs. Douglas needs money. She needs it quickly. Unfortunately, it has always been true in this country that those candidates who honestly believe in the people and would unselfishly serve them very often have to run impoverished campaigns. Show me candidates such as Bridges' stooge and Nixon, whose treasuries are bulging from the contributions of the rich and of the selfish interests, and I will show you candidates who deserve to be defeated.

HAROLD L. ICKES

Note: The New Republic will be glad to receive campaign contributions from its readers and to pass them along to specified candidates. – The Editors.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE EDUCATION OF HARRY S. TRUMAN

by Richard Strout

IT WILL BE some time, probably, before Americans elect another President who can play Paderewski's "Minuet in G Major" for his guests as Harry S. Truman did after the state dinner for Joseph Stalin and Winston Churchill at the Potsdam conference. Any way you take him, Harry Truman is a difficult subject, the more so because on the surface he seems so patently obvious. He surprised everybody by winning the fight for the Senate, by being picked by Roosevelt for Vice President, by beating Dewey in 1948. After reading Jonathan Daniels' new and comprehensive biography, you reflect that the most surprising thing about Truman is his constant ability to surprise.

THE MAN OF INDEPENDENCE, by Jonathan Daniels (J. B. Lippincott Co.; $3.75).

Can he keep it up? Opponents have paid Mr. Truman the compliment of shifting their recent attitude toward him from one of contemptuous disdain to one of apprehension. Here, from the past week or so, are incidents which came too late for Mr. Daniels' biography: There is, for example, the silly episode of writing the letter attacking the Marines: no politician in his right mind would have done such a thing. Yet Mr. Truman let fly regardless. Then he largely expunged the harm by going over in person, rather courageously, to the convention of the Marines' alumni association, and turning their anger into cheers. Then take his latest appointments. In a speech at Denver, in the 1948 election, Mr. Truman denounced "special interests" and "Wall Street" a dozen times. But he has just picked Walter S. Gifford, head of the multi-billion dollar American Telephone & Telegraph corporation, to be our ambassador in London, and Robert A. Lovett, Wall Street banker, to be our Undersecretary of State.

Do these incidents show an interesting range of activity beyond the easily predictable? All right, let us take another: Mr. Truman has just denounced the McCarran anti-subversive law in a rousing veto; a veto immediately overridden. If he is the crass, simple, easily understandable politician he is frequently represented as being, what possible advantage was there for him in trying to veto this hysterical measure? An election campaign is going on and all the advantage, one would suppose, would be in yelling "Me, too!" as his Senate leader Scott Lucas did, and as even such Senate liberals as Paul Douglas (D, Ill.), and Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.) did. (In fairness to the latter two it must be added that they later voted to sustain the Truman veto.) Yet wasn't it Mr. Humphrey who joined the ADA fight against Mr. Truman's 1948 nomination on the ground that he wasn't quite "liberal" enough? Why did the President veto, then? Because he just didn't think the McCarran bill was right.

Daniels has dug up a great deal of new material on Truman's prepolitical life. Everybody knows about the Kansas City haberdashery that failed; but had you heard of the 1916 zinc mine; the oil company which was dissolved after two years just when it was only a bare 900 feet above the big Teter oilfield; the Citizens Security Bank near Independence, Missouri, which Truman left just before it went bust? (The man who took it over killed himself.) These were chapters in a hectic life. They followed a praiseworthy war record in which Captain Truman effectively led the two gun crews of Battery D in France. It is the Daniels thesis that boss Tom Pendergast of Kansas City needed Truman more than Truman needed him. The future President was respectable, of good family, a veteran, a Baptist, a Mason—and he was honest. Pendergast needed that particular combination at the time.

But Truman didn't stop with merely aligning himself with Pendergast. His attitude was a species of hero worship. Truman told Daniels, "Stalin is as near like Tom Pendergast as any man I know," and meant it as a compliment to Stalin. He was confident that he understood the Soviet dictator and that "Stalin would stand by his agreements —and also that he had a Politburo on his hands like the 80th Congress."

It would appear that Truman has transferred his hero worship today to George Marshall. Marshall almost certainly explains the appointment of Gifford and Lovett. Truman was all set to send Vinson to Moscow in 1948; the plans were complete, during the election campaign, even to announcing them to the radio people. But Marshall said "No," and Truman instantly agreed. Daniels describes the General as being in Truman's eyes the "walking equivalent of George Washington and Robert E. Lee." Daniels should know.

Truman has none of the subtlety, finesse or deviousness of FDR. Roosevelt had a reasoned liberalism, but Truman's is more nearly instinctive; it comes out of his solar plexus rather than his brain. Truman had little use for FDR's brain trust; they talked too fast, and as companions he preferred jovial people like Harry Vaughan. In many ways Truman appears immensely limited. Though Daniels does not stress it, it is doubtful whether Truman understood the point of Henry Wallace's fatal speech at Madison Square Garden, which he approved in advance. It is doubtful whether Truman understood the speech of May 8, 1947, made by Undersecretary of State Acheson at Cleveland, Mississippi, in which the Truman Administration was committed to what shortly afterwards became the Marshall Plan.

Daniels' book is descriptive, more

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than it is interpretive. In many instances it asks questions without answering them. No reader can follow the dramatic assumption of office by the inexperienced Truman, absolutely uninformed about the details of America's most crucial military hour, without questioning the system of government that makes such a hiatus possible. A week after Truman became President, Henry Stimson called and gave him the details of the secret $2 billion A-bomb then in preparation. Truman had not seen FDR more than twice after he became Vice President save at cabinet meetings, and he recalls that FDR "never discussed anything important at cabinet meetings." In all the 82 days Truman was Vice President, FDR was in Washington less than a month.

Truman had little to go on in making his first vital decisions. He shut off Russian lend-lease four days after Germany capitulated (on the advice of Leo Crowley, Economic Warfare Administrator). Today he thinks this was a mistake: it mortally offended the suspicious ally. He now feels, too, that he ended war controls too quickly; but those mistakes were inevitable from a man in his place, struggling prayerfully to learn his job. As one of the reporters covering the White House, I shall never forget the humility of the dogged little man, gleaming behind his thick lenses as he talked at his early press conferences. He was so humble that it was almost painful, and he seemed to have so much to be humle about.

The remarkable thing, I think, is that Truman has done as well as he has. Here again the final appraisal is left with the reader of the book, rather than offered by Daniels. Objective European correspondents praise Truman highly. Once he mastered his job, they maintain, he has been right on every big decision he has made. Lacking FDR's subtlety, he reaches his decision, blurts it out, stands firm and digs in his heels. Only a few months ago, for example, everyone in Washington was certain Truman would follow the policy of appeasement in Korea. It was the Night of the Big Gloom. Truman took a bold and courageaus stand for the UN and dumbfounded blasé newspaper prophets almost as much as he had in November, 1948. He may not be another Jackson but the general condescending attitude toward him has repeatedly led to such journalistic surprises.

Truman's vindictive account of his break with Byrnes, his former Secretary of State, is the sensational feature of the Daniels book. It is hard not to feel that the relationship was an impossible one. Byrnes rather condescended to Truman, too, it would appear. He had been Truman's guide and mentor in the Senate. Byrnes must have reflected that if he had been picked by FDR at Chicago, he would now be President. He appears to have slighted Truman in making reports from the Moscow conference. He left office with outward cordiality, but the relationship had deteriorated. The story now related is fascinating, but reveals Truman in a poor light; his prestige would be higher if it had been omitted.

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ANTI-BOLSHEVIK PRIMER

VERDICT OF THREE DECADES. Edited by Julien Steinberg (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $5).

JULIEN STEINBERG has made a good job of editing this anti-Bolshevik anthology. He has ranged over thirty years; brought together disillusioned Communists, non-Communist Marxists, and non-Socialists—anyone who can contribute a piece against Stalin's Russia; and he has held the whole together with passages of his own which are often more sensible than the pieces they introduce. It would be foolish to dismiss this book as one-sided propaganda. Some of the essays are on a high level. Silone, as always, manages to be anti-Communist without being hysterical; Bertrand Russell writes with an irresistible, though justified, air of intellectual superiority; even Kautsky and Hilferding, those old war-horses of Marxism, are effective in their ponderous way. Steinberg makes, perhaps too often, the good point of his own that Stalin's Russia is Lenin's Russia continued, the inevitable outcome of it, and that it is romantic humbug to put all the blame on Stalin's clumsiness and brutality.

All the same, I doubt that this book succeeds in either of the purposes which justify an anthology: it does not build up a unified, coherent picture, and it does not make the reader want to know more about the authors who are represented here in selections. The only author who seemed to me concerned about the practical world was Joseph Stalin, quoted here with distaste and regret. Material is thrown together from all sorts of different levels—theoretical, personal, historical. Steinberg, in his anti-Bolshevik zest, would even persuade us that there was no need for the October Bolshevik revolution: Russia it seems, was already a Socialist country and safely out of the war. How curious that so many Russians did not notice it. At one moment we have a serious argument against Soviet economics; at the next we are told that there are no free trade unions and no freedom of religion in Russia; then Eisenstein died of a broken heart, and finally our old friend Lysenko makes his lamentable appearance. Moreover, some of the essays are not about Russia at all, but about the illusions of left-wing people in the United States. Of course Koestler can do this sort of thing in his sleep; but it has only a remote connection with the historical significance of the USSR.

Indeed, what is lacking in this anthology is any historical sense. Steinberg runs down Trotsky for trying to discover some Marxist explanation of Soviet bureaucracy and tyranny; but better some explanation than none at all. There is nothing here about the wars of intervention; nothing about the economic reconstruction which was certainly achieved under the early Five-Year Plans; hardly anything about the second German war, except the suggestion that it was Stalin's fault. Horror stories are repeated when they have worn well; there is no mention of those which have not worn well. Where, for instance, is the nationalization of women, which served the anti-Bolsheviks so admirably thirty years ago? This book is, in short, a case for the prosecution, not a verdict; a reputable illustration of the thesis that the only answer

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to Communism is anti-Communism.

But is there not a third way—the way of balanced judgment? One of the contributors quotes with a sneer the old excuse: "You can't make omelets without breaking eggs." A thin excuse, but it happens to be true. The historian may sometimes complain that too many eggs have been broken or that the omelet is uneatable; but he must have some sense of the real world. And particularly he must not ask the most backward of the Great Powers to adhere to standards which are beyond the reach of the best of us. Communist rule is detestable, and Communist principles even more so; all the same, it is better to try to understand them.

A. J. P. TAYLOR

FICTION PARADE

Time of Hope, by C. P. Snow (Macmillan; $3).

Writing about himself as though he were a third person, which allows him to keep a fine distance from what he knows intimately, the "I" of this book, a serious young man, tells the story of his painful case: tenacious ambition equaled only by tenacious love. A poor young man when tenacity gets born, he is typically spurred to it by his mother's luxurious visions beyond the means of her under-middle-class poverty.

The title is ironical. There is no time of hope for any of Snow's people. The novel is essentially an account of unhappy love, obsessed by its chains and unable to strike them off. Tenacious love is spent on a handsome, confused and narcissistic woman who continually fluctuates between coldness and torturing kindness. And though the "I" tells his story with gloves on, and not quite enough of the analysis goes underground, his portrait of the ambivalent mysteries of such an obsession and of the woman whose heart has been unnaturally shrunken is haunting because of its detailed accuracy.

Moreover, the clear competence of the narrative line, the unhurried and orderly sentences, the pervasive tone of melancholy ease in the telling of it, constitute a somber charm and excellence not always found today but always to be admired. *Time of Hope* is traditional in its sentence usages and in its presentation of character; you need not look for the unexpected here. But, a novel of some of the manners of the heart, it explores the known and unknown mysteries of that territory.

Troy and the Maypole, by Winston Clewes (Knopf; $3), is less successful in its recapitulation by the "I" of those same important years—youth and manhood. It is also more romantic and has as its real subject the saddening effects of disillusionment and as its moral the conclusion that "we" know no one, especially those we love; least of all, ourselves. Beginning with the novelist's old magic circle of childhood friendship, it is largely, in terms of plot, an introvert's study of an extrovert: how the handsome leader and darling Prince Charley, adored by everyone, comes to ruin; how also the sacrifices of friendship are made to him, how he gets the girl they all love, makes the money, joins the British Fascists and fights on Franco's side. Nostalgic, gentle, the autobiographical tone keeps this novel on much too modest and literal a basis, so that at no time do you meet with more than the conventional surfaces of reality.

The Secret Game, by François Boyer (Harcourt, Brace; $2.50).

This highly stylized small novel really concerns a visit by Death to a family of French peasants during the early years of the last war. Death is only a little girl whose parents have been bombed on the roadside and who is herself caught up in the mêlée of cows, horses, men, women and children who are jamming the highway to escape the German planes. The child's mind, numbed and bruised by so much violence, cannot take it in: the plane overhead is a wolf; the mortal wound on her father's head a raspberry. But because death is the ruling force in all that she has known of life, she domesticates it, makes it a grisly playground for the imagination. When she is taken in by the peasant family she initiates their small boy into her Passion. Together they nurse dead stoats and robins; soon they begin to bury them, and then, going the logical lengths of devotion, decide to Christianize the animals. This involves them in Black Mass blasphemy, as they steal real crosses from hearses and the village chapel. Finally, the boy, slave to the little girl's fanaticism, becomes its martyr; he falls from the chapel roof, crushed by the stone cross he has attempted to steal. This study is reserved, objective, economical; but it does not seem to be, for all of its ability to live strictly within the province of a child's small, hurt mind, much more than an entertainment scored by some macabre undertones. Boyer has written scenarios for the French movies; it is the scenario eye that seems to prevail.

JEAN GARRIGUE

THEATRE

Theatre: 1950-1951 Begins

LOUIS VERNEUIL'S "Affairs of State" is not quite old fashioned enough to be regarded as a novelty. It represents a method of play manufacture that reached the high point of its utility in 1914. It may still be enjoyed today, but one finds it difficult, in the friendliest mood, not to regard it as a bit quaint.

A bold, serious, humane study . . .

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN SOCIETY

by Alex Comfort

author of *On This Side Nothing, The Power House*

Known to American readers as a brilliant novelist and poet, Dr. Comfort is also a physician of high standing. His expert and enlightened discussion of sexual behavior—based on latest modern findings—is a stimulating guide to healthy living. $2.75

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"Affairs of State" has the kind of plot that one forgets even as it unfolds. An ex-Secretary of State, aged seventy-three, is threatened with divorce by his forty-year-old spouse, who finds herself interested in a Senator in her own age bracket. For what are supposed to be reasons of political expediency, the wily diplomat persuades the younger man, remarkably pliant even for a Senator, to simulate marriage to his wife's niece, a quietly shrewd and attractive girl of twenty-seven. It may not surprise you to learn that the Senator falls in love with his capable and ample bosomed "wife in name only," that she becomes his full time mate, and that the ex-Secretary of State's wife returns to her sedate position.

Students of "classical" early twentieth-century play carpentry and direction might study "Affairs of State" with profit. The construction as well as the staging of the play (also by Verneuil) is as carefully planned as a schoolroom exercise in strategy. What Verneuil might once have presented in Paris as a swift moving farce is now slowed down to the decorous leisure of "high comedy." The proceedings are spiced with worldly epigrams that lend a flavor of sweet unctuousness.

The cast is eminently competent. Celeste Holm, as the girl who gets the "boy," has an arch delivery, so ingratiatingly easy and well proportioned that one is pleased not only with it but with one's ability to appreciate it.

"Black Chiffon" is a slight English play that never wholly succeeds in achieving any of its possibilities. It is written partly as a melodrama, but the stakes are not high enough for us to tremble at the outcome. Mrs. Christie, the humdrum wife of a staid businessman, is caught stealing a black chiffon nightgown from a shop where she has gone to buy things for a sort of farewell dinner to her son, who is about to be married. A psychiatrist, brought in to help with Mrs. Christie's defense, is quick to discern that her compulsive act was a momentary aberration caused by unconscious jealousy of her future daughter-in-law. Mrs. Christie, however, refuses to use this line of defense, preferring a three-month jail sentence as a thief to letting the world suspect anything "unnatural" in her relation to her son. What is implied, in brief, is that the English middle-class person is more concerned with the appearance of sexual propriety than with any other form of respectability. But the point is barely made, and in the end we get only an inconclusive anecdote.

The play is done with the workmanlike smoothness we have come to expect from English companies. Flora Robson, as the Mother, once again proves herself a sound actress, but her scenes are not well enough placed in the structural context of the play to make for a really effective acting vehicle. Moreover, the role of the father, which for complete dramatic clarity should be pivotal, robs the mother's role of some of its impact without being in itself sufficiently realized by either the playwright or the actor.

Seeing Wolcott Gibbs's "Season in the Sun," "The First Hit of the Season," is a little like leafing through the pages of the *New Yorker:* there are several snatches of amusing dialogue, some even more amusing cartoons, and a sprinkling of sober lines. The results may not be especially memorable, but the reader (or spectator) is frequently entertained.

It is the tone rather than the specific argument of Gibbs's play (the author himself probably regards it as little more than a peg on which to hang his pleasantries) that might engage our critical attention. It may be defined as a quality of smart disdain, candied by a colorful topicality and a good nature not unlike indifference. There is acid in the pert or grotesque whimsy. Is it a form of cynical modesty or a coldness of heart and insufficiency of blood that makes us take this attitude as the prized essence of cosmopolitan wit? It is the attitude of people who apparently subscribe to an ideal of mild but constant sensation, who delight in a sort of modernistic, anti-puritan picture book which gives off the feeling of both cleverly prosperous well-being and vague discomfort presented as a wry joke. What makes "Season in the Sun" more engaging than this sounds is its evidence that Gibbs, while functioning as part of the world I've just described, is basically a good guy.

The play is greatly helped by the scalawag humor of Burgess Meredith's direction, the finesse of Boris Aronson's set design and a generally excellent cast. Richard Whorf's resourceful performance saves the most difficult part in the play (a writer seeking refuge from New York superficiality on Fire Island!). Grace Valentine gives salt to an odd type among beach house landladies and Eddie Mayehoff contributes a hilarious image of a grade A bore—a characterization in itself worth the price of admisson. HAROLD CLURMAN

MUSIC

Staging Opera

THE OTHER DAY I spent an hour at the Metropolitan Opera House watching Max Leavitt, former Lemonade Opera director now on the Metropolitan staff, teaching several young members of the company how to walk, stand, sit down and get up. This may not sound epoch-making, but it is. Until the proceeds of its Kathryn Turney Long Fund were applied to short semi-annual courses in operatic stagecraft, the Metropolitan took no official responsibility for seeing that its young singers knew how to comport themselves on the stage. Now, thanks to Leavitt's instruction, nobody need appear there without a rudimentary grasp of the principles of acting.

With both the Metropolitan and the New York City Opera Company committed to the belief that the dramatic values of opera are as important as the musical ones, the millennium might appear to be at hand. But the theatrical problems posed by opera are so formidable—in some cases so nearly insoluble—that neither the Metropolitan nor the City Center is ever likely to match the best achievements of the speaking theatre.

An opera house is a repertory theatre. The New York City Opera Company is giving fourteen different operas in its current eight-week season. The Metro-

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politan plans to give nineteen in twenty weeks (Rudolf Bing, the new manager, cut the schedule drastically from the twenty-six given in eighteen weeks last year). Five weeks of rehearsal and anywhere from two to six weeks of breaking-in on the road are allowed for the preparation of a Broadway play. The Metropolitan, even at its revised pace, must average almost two operas a week in the first half of the season, since each opera must be presented before the end of the subscription performances. The City Center prepares about three a week at the start of its season. At the Metropolitan, probably only such special events as the restaged revivals of "Don Carlo," "The Flying Dutchman" and "Die Fledermaus," and the restored cycle of the four Wagner "Ring" music dramas will involve more than two full rehearsals with orchestra. There is neither time nor space for more at the opera house, and certainly there is no budget for more.

In view of this assembly-line schedule (an improvement, even so, over the Metropolitan's former slapdash methods), the most any stage director can hope is that the story line of an opera will somehow be clear to the audience, and that some sort of natural and fluent action can be achieved by both principals and chorus. Making the story line clear is not an easy matter in an opera such as "Il Trovatore," in which half the continuity is omitted in the libretto and has to be inferred from the half that is presented in eight short, abrupt scenes. Moreover, the text is in Italian, so that most of the audience has to divine the significance of the action from the pantomime of the singers and the expression of the music. It is possible to make "Il Trovatore" intelligible, but the stage director who can do so in a handful of rehearsals must be gifted to the point of genius.

It is not enough, however, to present the story plainly and with a minimum of stock gesticulation on the part of the singers. The relating of the action to the music poses innumerable problems. Musical ideas evolve more deliberately than sequences of words or actions. The basic formal problem of staging any opera is that of finding a way of reconciling the pace of action with the pace of music, without slowing down the action to the point of nonsense or letting it die periodically when musical set-pieces come along. This problem assumes different forms in such opposing conceptions of opera as the Wagner music dramas, which are supposed to achieve a continuous rhapsodic flow, and the Mozart operas, in which rapid-fire recitative alternates with formalized arias and ensembles.

The stage director is expected to attain both dramatic communicativeness and artistic symmetry with a group of performers not of his own choosing and whom he probably would never have chosen for their histrionic abilities. Typecasting is almost impossible in opera, and singers are seldom really right for the roles they are called upon to portray. They are chosen because they possess the voices and the technique required by the music.

Yet a stage director who is guided by a consistent and reasonable overall conception of the way an opera ought to look can usually achieve results that are at least presentable. He can devise floor-plans that will relate the singers to one another instead of leaving them free to hurl their tones at the audience in magnificent isolation from the dramatic situations in which they are supposed to be participating; and he can arrange the chorus in something other than the stereotyped V-formation that has been so familiar at the Metropolitan.

In the hope of modernizing the Metropolitan's style of production, Bing has engaged two Broadway stage directors — Margaret Webster for "Don Carlo," which opens the season on November 6, and Garson Kanin for "Die Fledermaus." This is a novel and experimental move, for until now operatic directors have been considered a wholly separate tribe. It will be interesting to see whether these legitimate-theatre people or so old a hand at opera as Herbert Graf, who will stage "The Flying Dutchman," will be the more successful in lifting the Metropolitan's staging out of the miasma into which it has sunk.

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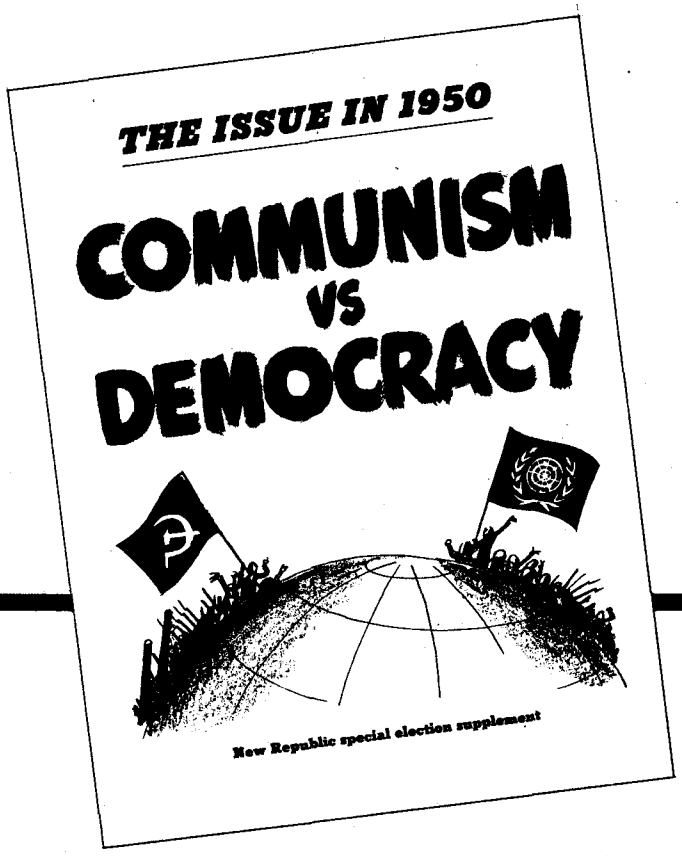

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